production, coal mining, the iron and steel industry, and railroad transport; strengthening of public controls in all these economic sectors; measures against speculation and black marketing; measures compelling landowners and industrialists to utilize available means of production as fully as possible; distribution of regulative functions between the central and local authorities. A program to protect labor was only briefly outlined in the platform, with the understanding that the Department of Labor in the new Cabinet would be in the hands of a man close to the Executive Committee, who would implement the recommendations of the All-Russian Convention of the Soviets.

Perhaps the most important clause was on land policy. While leaving to the Constituent Assembly the final decision of the agrarian problem—the legal transfer of land to the tillers of the soil—the platform committed the government to two immediate steps: to increase crop production by seizing, if necessary, the idle lands of big estates; and to transfer immediately to the peasants the lands of which they could make better use than the existing owners.

The financial section of the platform was not very realistic under the existing conditions. It stressed the need to reshape the fiscal system, with greater emphasis on direct taxes on the rich (inheritance tax, income tax, surtax on war profits, and so forth). The section on local government restated the efforts of the government to establish, as soon as possible, the net of democratically elected provincial, municipal, and other local councils, with broad administrative and economic responsibilities. The concluding section contained a pledge to expedite the convocation of the Constituent Assembly in Petrograd.

This platform was prepared hurriedly, in a few days of feverish consultations between experts and leaders of the Executive Committee. My task was to bring together the points accepted by the Executive Committee in literary form and elaborate them later in a series of articles in *Izvestia*. I have the reprint of these articles in my files. Rereading them now, in the light of past events, I can see how utopian was our hope that our platform would be implemented by a government with a strong majority hostile to the Soviets and the revolution. However, apart from this, the platform was fine as an outline of what the new Cabinet should have done immediately, even as a caretaker government, while at the same time expediting elections to the Constituent Assembly.

The reorganized government, again headed by Lvov, included fifteen members: three representatives of the Soviet (Chernov, Skobelev, and Tseretelli); three Socialists without direct ties with the Soviet (among them Kerensky for the army and navy); and nine